

was adopted; and by the convention, by Congress, and by the State Legislatures, the instrument was submitted to the people. They acted upon it in the only manner in which they can act safely, effectually and wisely on such a subject by assembling in convention. It is true they assembled in their several States—and where else should they have assembled? No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States, and of compounding the American people into one common mass. Of consequence, when they act, they act in their States. But the measures they adopt do not on that account cease to be the measures of the people themselves, or become the measures of the State Governments. From these conventions the constitution derives its whole authority. The government proceeds directly from the people, is “ordained and established” in the name of the people; and is declared to be ordained in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and to their posterity.”—*Wheaton Rep. vol. 4, p. 403.*

The same principles are recognized as being true in the late admirable proclamation of the President of the United States.

As to the doctrine of Nullification, your committee would scarcely have considered it worth the trouble of discussion but for the grave sanction that has thus been given to it by the convention of South Carolina. They would have treated it as one of those conceits which might have formed the subject of debate in a Moot Court of a law school, but would never have conceived it possible that it could enter into the business realities of life.

Under the view which has been taken of the subject, it is scarcely necessary to enquire into the grounds of complaint, since they are not deemed strong enough even on the part of the convention to warrant a revolutionary measure, or in other words, rebellion; and the particular subject of attention under the communication is the attitude assumed by the State on the ground of her sovereign power.

But your committee cannot forbear from expressing the opinion, that their views of political economy are as erroneous as their constitutional principles. They conceive that it would be no difficult matter to show that the distress of South Carolina may be imputed to very different causes than those assigned, and might be traced with much more semblance of reason, among other causes, to the in-